2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*489 *733 *139 and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba ndshdr nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700 feet in height.

Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicorpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtse. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,150 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtse, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtse. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-noa-t'ag (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

[342] [515] [391] [147] In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among [342] these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

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Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
7th	15th	Birthday of the God of Pao Miao
8th	1st	" " Chin Chia
"	3rd	" " The Kitchen God
"	15th	The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)
"	27th	Birthday of Confucius
9th	9th	" " Tou Mu
10th	15th	" " the God of Water
10th	(Same time)	Visiting ancestral graveyards
11th	19th	Birthday of Sun God
12th	8th	" " Fa Ch'a
"	23rd	The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven
"	30th	New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods.

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pan Chu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small altar just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Living Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through Hsiat Tsun and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ta'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

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offended a local woman who was dispatching milk because the friend's wife washed the milk woman's measuring bowl before dipping it into the milk [illegible]. The milk woman's reason was that the bowl was carried on her body, just next to her under-clothes so it could not be dirty at all.

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Ideas about public health are lacking. Sickly dogs are seen everywhere; donkeys, horses and mules make a mess freely on every street. Children and adults enjoy their conveniences in the main thoroughfares or around any corner of any lane. No one even bothers to clean up the streets. Often poor farmers or their children come to the streets to gather up the human and animal excretion for fertilizer in the fields. About three years ago the missionary college and the local middle school organized a joint campaign on public hygiene. Teachers and students of both institutions carried out a general cleaning up of all the streets of the town and killed about fifty homeless and sickly dogs. Quite a number of the local inhabitants lent support to the effort. At the same time public lectures were given in the main streets by some of the students on the importance and significance of the campaign. For a period of time following the campaign the town was free from obvious dirt heaps, etc. But the old way of life returned gradually. Today no one even recalls this campaign.

[p. 7]

000 Nowadays, the authorities of both areas are trying a new weapon - education. How effective this will be depends perhaps less on the health department directly than upon those whose task it is to reshape Eastern mentality: the missions on the one hand, the school teachers on the other." (Op. cit., p. 396)

(b) The "Democratic Method"

This method is pursued by organizations and institutions of reform of private origin. The Chinese rural reform movement is one type. The various European missions abroad represent another type. These two types of organizations have a common starting point - the individual. By means, largely, of resources from abroad or other non-local origin, the Chinese rural reformers have been able, during the last ten years before the present war, to establish hospitals and many district dispensaries, with trained medical dispensers, over many areas of the country. The British and German missions in East Africa have had a much longer record, a much stronger support, and a much larger working force than the comparatively recent Chinese reform centers. Their work is fully described in the aforementioned volume by Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald. What are the results? Chinese rural reform has borne little fruit of significance in this respect. As soon as the outside support in finance and personnel is withdrawn, the communities return to their old, traditional course. The result of missionary medical work in East Africa is of similar or even greater uncertainty. Those who seriously adhere to European medical and health measures have to be the "detribalised" individuals (or an individual who no longer belongs to his or her own culture and community). As regards the mass of the people, we have seen how "the intricacies of the complication of irrational and rational thinking are a stumbling block for many women in attempting to understand measures of European medicine," how even trained medical dispensers and Christians fall back on magic, and how the main emphasis of European medical workers in African nowadays is on the winning of personal confidence in the physician and health officer. Such facts speak for themselves. The efficiency and permanency of the influences of these missionaries may again be seen from a sidelight, from the result of the non-medical instruction of the Jeanes School, which institution has impressed Mrs. Thurnwald very deeply:

> "The Jeanes School's goal is to make these women advance so far that in their home village they may be capable of influencing their co-villagers by a model family and household, that they may help the other, particularly Christian, women by the advice which they themselves have acquired, and by a display of practical methods and skill. Such instructions are an arduous task for most of them, particularly since they meet with the obstruction of the old generation of women. Most of them are unable to understand the methods used." (Black and White in East Africa, op. cit., pp. 203-204.)

Now if it is so difficult for instruction in simple home work by such a highly perfected institution as the Jeanes School to make much headway, how much more difficult will it be for instruction that bears even more intimately on people's life and death?

● 515 In West Town the author has seen numerous school children at home, spitting about, wiping faces with obviously unclean towels, eating fruit that has not been washed, taking no bath at all, etc., after being instructed in school not to spit, not to use a dirty towel, to wash before meals, to bathe

regularly, and so on. These children are not to blame. Their parents and guardians, relatives and friends who have not been so trained and have never been accustomed to these habits, will neither follow these 'strange' ways nor respect them if the children tried to carry them out at home. These strange ways will most likely be suppressed, and if the children's education is discontinued after the primary school, the children themselves will usually grow up not very different in thought and behavior from their elders, although externally they may wear dresses, hats and shoes of a later style. This conclusion is indeed borne out by facts seen during the cholera epidemic, when many school boys and adults who had primary and secondary education took an active part in the prayer meetings and other communal doings to combat the epidemic. As long as they live where and as they are, they will, undoubtedly, when ill, continue to seek as many cures as possible.

The author does not hold the opinion that the European and Chinese governmental or private reform efforts have not left their marks, but he is far from being impressed by the marks thus left. Why have these methods not achieved results of significance? The answer is in every elementary textbook on sociology it has often enough been reiterated but has, unfortunately, often enough been forgotten even by reputed anthropologists dealing with colonial problems - that Man is a product of his culture and has to live as a member of a society. "There is no isolated individual just as there is no isolated institution." Individuals live by the habits they acquire as they grow up in their culture, just as institutions operate by the pattern they assume as they take shape among many other institutions. But not every one lives by habit to the same extent and in all spheres. In almost any society we may find two layers as regards mental attitude. The one layer is capable of more reflective efforts than the other. The superiority of a modern society over that of a rustic society lies in the fact that the former contains more elements capable of reflective thinking than does the other. But the point to be stressed is that the majority in both types of societies live by habit and not by reflection. Speaking in terms of medicine, theories are of secondary or no importance to the majority of patients either in modern Europe or in the rustic West Town. Cure is the primary and usually the only concern - the difference between the two groups of patients in this respect being that in modern Europe the habitual channel leading to cure is "to trust and ask a doctor", while in our rustic West Town the habitual channel leading to the same objective is "to appease the spirits and try all possible prescriptions." The scientific theories of medicine and of public health are the concern of the doctors and a few other professionals in the one society, just as in the other the prayers, rituals, amulets and principles of native therapeutics are in the hands of the priests and native practitioners.

The propagators of modern hygiene and scientific medicine have to decide whether or not they want a total conflict between two systems of theories (i.e. the rustic theory of spirits, etc., vs. the scientific theory of germs, etc., and suppression of the former by the latter) when they attempt to introduce modern medicine and public health measures into a rustic community, and then watch their efforts largely wasted under their own eyes. Indeed, such a conflict is what medical workers in the comparatively backward countries are asking for all the time. And then they complain about the slowness of their progress or, even worse, complain about the innate stupidity of the people whose conditions they are trying to better. They have entirely forgotten that even in the advanced Western countries they cannot bluntly ask people to change their habitual ways within a period of twenty or thirty years in the existing